

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 186709

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR, SF, WA

SUBJECT: SECOND TRIPARTITE DEMARCHE ON NAMIBIA

REF: PRETORIA 2910

1. FOLLOWING ARE TEXTS OF PROPOSED AIDE MEMOIRE AND TALK-
ING POINTS FOR POSSIBLE USE IN JOINT US, UK, FRENCH AP-
PROACH TO SA. THESE HAVE JUST BEEN DEVELOPED IN CLOSE CON-
SULTATION WITH UK AND FRENCH EMBASSIES ON AD REFERENDUM
BASIS.

2. UPON RECEIPT ANY COMMENTS YOU MAY OFFER, QUESTION OF
TRIPARTITE APPROACH AND TEXT OF AIDE MEMOIRE WILL BE SUB-
MITTED TO THE SECRETARY FOR HIS APPROVAL.

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3. WE UNDERSTAND GOF HAS APPROVED AIDE MEMOIRE AS FORMU-

LATED BELOW AND BOTH GOF AND UKG HAVE AGREED TO ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF TALKING POINTS. EMBASSY SHOULD WEIGH VIRTUE OF ANY PROPOSED CHANGES AGAINST LOSS OF TIME WHICH MIGHT ENSUE IF TEXTS HAD TO BE RENEGOTIATED.

4. BEGIN TEXT OF AIDE MEMOIRE: THE GOVERNMENTS OF FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAVE AGAIN CONSIDERED THE PROBLEM OF NAMIBIA IN THE LIGHT OF

THEIR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES AS PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

5. THE THREE GOVERNMENTS REAFFIRM THE PRINCIPLES SET OUT IN THE TRIPARTITE DEMARCHE OF 22 APRIL 1975. THEY HAVE NOTED THE POINTS MADE IN DR. MULLER'S LETTER OF 27 MAY TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL WHICH ALSO ENCLOSED EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECH MADE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER AT WINDHOEK ON 20 MAY, AND ACKNOWLEDGE AS POSITIVE ELEMENTS THE CLEAR STATEMENT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THE OAU POSITION ON SELF-DETERMINATION, INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND THE WILLINGNESS EXPRESSED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO ENTER INTO CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF THE OAU.

6. THE THREE GOVERNMENTS HOWEVER CONSIDER THAT SUBSTANTIAL FURTHER PROGRESS IS URGENTLY REQUIRED ON THE FOLLOWING LINES.

7. THE THREE GOVERNMENTS CONSIDER THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT, ALTHOUGH THE CONSULTATIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS WHICH ARE NOW BEING PREPARED WILL PROVIDE A VALUABLE SOURCE OF ADVICE, THEY DO NOT REGARD THEM AS BEING DEFINITIVE; AND THAT THERE WILL THEREFORE IN ADDITION BE A SINGLE ELECTORAL PROCESS, HELD AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OVER THE TERRITORY AS A WHOLE, WHICH WILL DETERMINE THE POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY.

8. THE THREE GOVERNMENTS URGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT
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MENT TO CONSULT WITH THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL ON MEANS TO ENSURE UN SUPERVISION OF THIS ELECTORAL PROCESS.

9. THE THREE GOVERNMENTS REITERATE THEIR VIEW THAT ALL POLITICAL GROUPS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO CAMPAIGN AND PARTICIPATE PEACEFULLY IN THE SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS. THEY CONSIDER THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THESE GROUPS WILL NOT BE LIMITED TO

ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING PEOPLE ON AN ETHNIC BASIS AND WILL SPECIFICALLY INCLUDE NON-TRIBAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS- THUS SWAPO, SWANU, AND THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, AMONG OTHERS, WOULD BE ENTITLED TO PARTICIPATE.

10. THEY CONSIDER THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT, IN THE COURSE OF THE SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS, THEY WILL NOT TRY TO INFLUENCE

THE CHOICE OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TERRITORY IN THE DIRECTION OF SPLITTING IT UP BUT WILL BRING NAMIBIA TO INDEPENDENCE AS ONE STATE, UNLESS THE INHABITANTS SHOULD FREELY CHOOSE OTHERWISE.

11. THE THREE GOVERNMENTS URGE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THE IMPORTANCE OF RELEASING NAMIBIANS WHO ARE IMPRISONED FOR OFFENCES OF A POLITICAL CHARACTER AND OF PERMITTING ALL NAMIBIANS CURRENTLY IN EXILE FOR POLITICAL REASONS TO RETURN TO NAMIBIA WITHOUT RISK OF ARREST, DETENTION, INTIMIDATION OR IMPRISONMENT. SUCH ACTIONS WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE SERIOUSNESS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S STATED INTENTION TO ALLOW FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN THE TERRITORY.

12. THE THREE GOVERNMENTS NOTE WITH APPROVAL RECENT ACTIONS TO ELIMINATE CERTAIN FORMS OF PETTY APARTHEID IN NAMIBIA. THEY URGE SOUTH AFRICA TO ABOLISH THE APPLICATION IN NAMIBIA OF ALL RACIALLY DISCRIMINATORY AND POLITICALLY REPRESSIVE LAWS AND PRACTICES. END TEXT OF AIDE MEMOIRE.

13. BEGIN TEXT TALKING POINTS:
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-- WE WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT OUR THREE GOVERNMENTS MAY AGAIN FACE A SITUATION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH WE REGARD AS VERY UNHELPFUL TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND MORE GENERALLY TO OUR POSITION AT THE UNITED NATIONS. THEREFORE, WE WOULD URGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO RESPOND PROMPTLY AND COMPREHENSIVELY TO SC 366 USING UNAMBIVALENT LANGUAGE SUCH AS THAT SUGGESTED IN PARAGRAPHS 4 THROUGH 8 OF OUR AIDE MEMOIRE. IT WOULD BE DESIREABLE FOR SUCH A STATEMENT TO BE ISSUED PRIOR TO THE CONVENING OF THE 30TH UNGA.

-- IN ADDITION, WE URGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE MORE POSITIVE INITIATIVES TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL AND OF THE
OAU. END TEXT TALKING POINTS KISSINGER

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